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be assimilated by the American people. They will not send their children to public schools, but teach them only in German and only in their private schools. They speak German in their daily communication with each other. As immigrants to the United States, with these facts standing against them, they should be barred."

To the governor of Mississippi the case of the Mennonites is one of law. He says:

"I have guaranteed religious and educational freedom to the Mennonites. I am giving them a guarantee only of what the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every one who enters its doors. Neither governor nor State can go behind the Constitution of the United States.

"The Mennonites may be conscientious objectors to military service, but President Wilson himself recognized such people during the war and made special provision for them. I have not opposed and shall not oppose what is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and what is a good enough principle to be followed by the President of the United States. I have given these guarantees to the Mennonites and I shall stand by these guarantees."

The issue raised in this case is important, and we await with considerable interest later developments. If the governor gets the steady and unfaltering support of the maturer part of the electorate, and if no litigation of a retarding sort uprears its head, the migration will take place. But once the immigrants are on their new lands their social troubles will begin, whatever the law may do to buttress them in tenure. The Southern white has perfected a technique of boycott and discouragement of persons not conforming to general public opinion compared with which that of Manitoba is crude. Our prediction is that the proposed "trek" from the north to the south, from the Dominion to the Republic, from arctic winters to tropic summers, may be a case of "jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire." But, whether this prove to be so or not, one cannot refuse to pay homage to a people who for conviction's sake undergo all that is implied in this transfer.

Like the fathers, are the children. From the sixteenth century to the present hour the followers of Menno Simons have been peripatetic preachers of the truth as they have seen it. Germany and Holland drove them forth, and Russia welcomed them. Russia in time turned against them, and then Canada opened her doors. Now they seek the south of the United States, and get from Russell, of Mississippi, a welcome which even earlier disciples of the faith got from William Penn. Where they as a group will be living fifty years hence, who shall say? They are congenital nonconformists, in whose philosophy of life the element of compromise is not found. Of the world, yet they are not in it, save as frugal, thrifty, lawabiding folk. The flood of world life

rushes by them and finds them as firmly anchored in their insularity of outlook as were their Anabaptist ancestors. They have the depth of the narrow and the courage of the infallible. Their religion is a deposit and their ethics static. State authority always is secondary to Divine will, and their "pacifism" is of a logical, consistent type.

## PARASITES

SCHIMAROTZER, parasites, is what C. v. Kugelgen, a Finnish gentleman, writing from Helsingfors, calls the Bolsheviks of Russia. These views are expressed in *Die Brücke*, published in Danzig, under date of November 13. These views are based upon certain facts familiar in Finland, but not clearly understood in America. It appears that during the debates on the Russo-Finnish peace treaty the social democrats of Finland were not in favor of the ratification of the peace. It was argued that Russia should be given opportunity to safeguard the profits resulting from the revolution, and that she should not be kept from carrying through the Bolshevik program. It is realized in Finland that similar views are shared not only by socialists, but by many of the bourgeois of practically all countries. Men who refuse Bolshevism for their own country feel that it has proved its vitality in Russia, and that it must be reckoned with, as far as Russia is concerned, as a permanent form of government and of social order. Mr. Kugelgen insists that such conclusions are wrong. The existence of the Soviet power over a period of three years is not proof of its ability to exist continuously. The Russian empire is very large; hence developments naturally take place there for the most part very slowly. Yet any one acquainted with Russian history knows that following a long preparation a catastrophe may take place suddenly. The fact that Bolshevik violence has reigned in Russia for three years does not therefore indicate very much. The stored provisions in Russia are so immense and the country so rich in natural resources that the non-constructive and destroying Soviet Government may continue for years to come. This may be so, in spite of the fact that Bolshevism is nothing less than the heir of bourgeois government, an heir given, however, to squandering his wrongfully gotten inheritance, an inheritance which he does not know how to use profitably. This is true in all fields of endeavor, including agriculture. Indeed, agriculture furnishes the best example of the fundamentally destructive nature of the Bolshevik economic order. Not only are the majority of the agricultural machines and tools used up, the buildings collapsed, the crops consumed; not only have the herds of cattle disappeared, the horses having be-

come a rarity; not only have the most important centers of culture throughout the country, especially on the large estates, been destroyed, but even the cultivated areas have been reduced to the extreme. While at one time the peasants seemed to be the only ones who had become rich in Soviet Russia, they having divided among themselves the land of the great estates, even they are now so impoverished and debased that they work only to satisfy their own needs. The Bolsheviks attribute the famine reigning everywhere in Russia to this agricultural sabotage. And yet many of the Bolsheviks confess that the economic order, the monopoly of grain and of all agricultural products, has brought about the marked deterioration of agriculture. Be that as it may, the peasants are satisfied if only they can raise enough for their own needs. It is therefore idle to speak of progress in Russia. There is only a general break down all along the line. The Bolsheviks admit that the Soviet Government will not survive this winter unless they succeed in transplanting the revolution into west Europe. In short, the Russian soil being exhausted, the parasites must send out their roots into the land of their neighbors, if the parasites are not themselves to perish. Mr. Kugelgen says:

"If Finland and Poland make peace with Russia the downfall of the Bolsheviks will not be delayed. But we must bear in mind that the Bolsheviks have quite different plans. Driven by the desire of self-preservation, they do not want peace with their neighbors. What they want is violent revolution among their neighbors and in west Europe. Real peace is impossible between a useful and a parasitic plant."

THE CITY of Stuttgart, Germany, has officially announced its intention to care for the graves of American soldiers who died in the hospitals of that city during the war. It is done as a token of the gratitude of the citizens for aid given them in their common poverty and lack of food by German-American citizens and by the Quakers of the United States through their relief agencies. Love begets love and hate breeds hate, and bread cast upon the waters sometimes returns in a few days. The Quakers are the best-beloved Americans in central Europe today. They give with hands that are not bloody.

SIR IAN HAMILTON in his "Gallipoli Diary" makes it clear that, more than any of his British associates in high command, he is master of a style that has poetic and spiritual qualities; and the entry in his diary the night before his troops made their most formidable but ill-fated attempt at successful landing will always be a classic in the literature of war envisaged as a divinely

prescribed method of purging the race of cowardice, materialism, and sloth. But one wonders if Sir Ian, in this month of January, 1921, fourteen months after the armistice was signed, would write now as he wrote in 1915: "God has started on celestial spring-cleaning, and our star is to be scrubbed bright with the blood of our bravest and our best."

A CHRISTMAS DAY news dispatch from The Hague told of festivities at the House of Doorn, where the former Kaiser and his entourage live under Dutch protection. Doubtless "Holy Night" was sung the night before and Divine worship was participated in on Christmas Day. At least we know this, namely, that "William Who Was" presented to Count Bentinck, his Dutch landlord, "a painting representing the fraternity of nations"!

THE SECRETARY of War, Mr. Baker, told the American Historical Association's members, at their recent meeting in Washington, that he had come to the conclusion that about 10 per cent of the information given in newspaper and magazine articles, referring to phases of the war of which he was officially cognizant, was true. Yet there are historians who highly rate journalistic sources of information.

PROFESSOR MICHELSON, of the University of Chicago, a Nobel Prize winner and one of the world's greatest physicists, has perfected a method of measuring the angular diameters of stars in the heavens, and his figures as to Betelgeuse have set the world gasping as to the immensity of the cosmic spheres. We wish he would give us the diameter of the "Star of Bethlehem" and the "Star of Hope" and some of the other objects that swim around in the spacious firmament where rhetoricians, mystics, and their kind disport themselves, following very irregular orbits.

A SUGGESTIVE and disturbing report from Vienna relative to the state of economic dependence in which Alfred Fried, writer of an article in this issue, finds himself will specially interest our readers. The report from Vienna describes the president of the journalists' organization of that city as appealing to the citizens to find a place of shelter for Fried, the eminent journalist and pacifist. His condition, of course, is typical of thousands of other highly educated, sensitively organized and fine-idealed men, not all of whom, however, as frankly as he saw where the Hapsburgs were leading their all-too-loyal subjects, and said so at risk of popularity and place.

THE DEATH of George H. Perris, the English journalist, who had done notable work for many years, both as an editorial writer and as a war correspondent, should be noted for two reasons. He long ago cast his personal and professional influence against war and he has stood for the best British Liberal traditions during recent years. Years ago he began visits to the United States that enabled him to write with intelligence on actual conditions in this country. Like George Morrison and so many others of his guild, he has registered in his premature death the strain and stress of the war, of the conference at Paris, and of the complex and disheartening reconstruction period.

SINCE 1790, so it is estimated, the United States has paid \$5,830,815,717 to pensioners for disabilities suffered in war or for service in the army. Six years ago that statement would have shocked sluggish minds into action and provoked controversy. But what are nearly six billions of dollars today? Incidents. However, it is worth noting that the appropriation bill now being shaped by the House carries an expenditure of \$265,500,000 for pensions, \$251,612,192 of which will go to veterans of the civil war or to their legal heirs, mostly young widows. This sum will be \$14,000,000 less than last year, the number of pensioners having decreased 32,237 during that period. A pension system, whether for civilians or for war veterans, has vitality of an extraordinary kind. To fail to create such a system often runs counter to sentiment and is difficult in a democracy; but to establish any sort of pensioning function puts on the back of any treasury an Old Man of the Sea.

WITHIN A FORTNIGHT after the League at the Geneva sessions of the Council and the Assembly had urged on Europe modifications of passport rules Belgium had acted summarily and effectively. The infinite ingenuity and cupidity of the powers in making movement difficult by increasing travel costs and by reducing the celerity of passport concessions has done much to aggravate conditions in regions already sufficiently cursed with incitements to ill will and bellicosity.

VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEGG, German chancellor at the opening of the war and coiner of the ever-to-be-remembered phrase, "scrap of paper," as applied to a treaty (in this case with Belgium), died January 1. In his ethical standards and unclouded vision of what the submarine campaign would mean and what would follow provocation of the United States by Germany, he was far superior to most advisers of the Kaiser. Had

this chancellor had will equaling his intellect, and had he been willing to challenge and grapple with the militarist and Junker factions nigh the throne, the course of German and of world history might have been modified by him. That he had an essentially fair nature, it is only necessary to point to his vicarious offer to the Allies that they try him instead of the Kaiser, if trial and punishment there must be.

PRESIDENT-ELECT HARDING is said to have given a pledge to officials of the National Reform Association that in any new international compact to which the United States may become party under his administration there will be distinct formal recognition of the Deity as sovereign of nations, "Lord of Lords, King of Kings," etc. The Reform Association's adherents explain the untoward consequences of the Paris Treaty as due to its secularism and its failure to recognize a Divine sovereignty. Less orthodox folk credit the failure to very human shortcomings of men like—well, let us say Clemenceau!

ITALY'S DEMANDS on Austria for return of art treasures have been met very completely, so helpless is the remnant of the former proud and large empire; and the objects restored include those taken in the wars of past centuries as well as in times within the memory of living men. Germany has been more reluctant to surrender the spoils of war demanded by the Versailles Treaty, and it is only recently that the first installment to Belgium for restoration of the library at Louvain has been received by the Belgian officials. Meantime the American fund of \$500,000 to restore the Louvain library building grows rather slowly, owing to economic conditions in the United States that are going to make the total amount of aid given by her to Europe much less than seemed likely when the armistice was signed. "The spirit is willing," but the "flesh" is weaker than formerly.

THE INFLUENCE of the Administration is being thrown in favor of prohibition of export and limitation of import of cocaine, morphine, and other narcotic drugs. Popular sentiment undoubtedly is back of the Jones-Miller Narcotic Bill, and so also is official, expert judgment. As the representative of the State Department said in arguing for the bill, if it passes it will enable this government to live up to pledges entered into at The Hague International Opium Convention, and it will be in line with the provision of the Treaty of Paris, which clearly had in mind international action against this body-and-soul-destroying traffic. Especially will it

enable the United States to do its part to save China and the Chinese from avaricious American nationals, who, conjointly with like-minded Japanese, are doing all that they can to ruin the morale of the Chinese by vending opium or substitutes for opium.

**I**F, AS IS intimated may be the case, Holland serves as the interlocutory power, bringing before the League of Nations the charges that Korea makes against Japan, it will be a significant fact; for it was Holland that first among the nations of Europe opened up trade with Japan, and it was from Holland that Japan first began to get her knowledge of the Occidental world. Great Britain's sympathies undoubtedly are with Korea now, and so are those of the United States; but Great Britain is a formally bound ally of Japan, and the United States, having conceded in an unfortunate hour the inclusion of Korea in Japan, is in no position to protest. Holland's Pacific possessions do give her some claim to intervene.

## POLICE FORCE OR MORAL FORCE FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

By DR. ALFRED H. FRIED

We are glad to translate and print for our readers this expression of views sent to us by the well-known Austrian peace worker who himself ranks so high among the "little crowd of enthusiasts" to whom he refers.—THE EDITORS.

**T**HE BEGINNING of the League of Nations is very similar to the beginning of the work at The Hague. The latter, too, started surrounded by wars, in the midst of a general world unrest. The first suggestions for it were made to the world at a time when the United States had just finished their war with Spain, and the signatures of the treaties at The Hague were hardly dry when the Boer War and the China expedition shook the world.

It was the most unfavorable situation that could be conceived for the beginning of the peace-work. The doubters and scorners, as well as the outspoken antagonists, all of whom never wished to believe in its future, were triumphant. They had considered the whole conference a whim of a moment, which had to be humored. That the so-called history of the world should proceed to enter upon the program of the day, they thought quite natural; but they had reckoned without that little group of enthusiasts who were not influenced by the troubles of the moment, who looked upon the work done at The Hague as a new chapter in the history of mankind.

These enthusiasts carried on the work unabashed. They worked until the child believed to be dead by its own progenitors showed the first signs of life and henceforth could be considered safe. Thus The Hague Court of Arbitration could be opened in spite of the war's raging at the beginning of the century. It was in readiness. And when it was intended to destroy the

Areopagus which had been created, by withholding from it the opportunity to function, then it happened that one of its creators, the French Senator Destournelles, went to the United States and led President Roosevelt to create a precedent by submitting to the court of arbitration the settlement of litigation. It was not exactly an important case, the non-settlement of which would have engaged the world in a war. But that was not at all the question at that moment. The example was needed, and this was given when, on September 15, 1903, in the still very modest rooms of The Hague Bureau, a court made legal by world mandate was constituted.

It is of no importance who won the controversy between the United States and Mexico about the California church properties. The machinery was started, and that was all-important. The doubters and scorners were not vindicated. Justice was now on a par with immense powers of violence.

This retrospect of a time which lies so far behind us, because the bloody stream of the World War flows between it and the present, is necessary to overcome the gloomy aspect which the future of the League of Nations permits us to consider in a brighter and more hopeful light.

Today there are again the doubters and scorners, the interested antagonists, who treat the work of higher peace security created at Versailles as something created only for politeness sake, as a result to which certain considerations are due in order to soothe with it the enervated nations, which, however, need not be considered seriously.

The situation today is exactly the same as it was after 1890. Only everything looks more intensive, more awesome, more hopeless than then. The peace work is established, but war continues. In different parts of the globe war is still being waged. New wars have started. In different States resistance against the new order of things is threatened. There are bloody revolutions; the whole east and southeast of Europe, the west of Asia, are fermenting in national excitement, and the preparations are started with such a force that they threaten to surpass by far the foolish endeavors of the pre-war period.

In the midst of this chaos the League of Nations meets. It has formed the Council, held brilliant meetings in various places, called the delegates, formed committees of inquiry, and created those organs that were demanded by the peace treaty to regulate certain affairs. Speeches have been made, employees hired, and salaries appropriated. It has tried to show the world that it is alive, and that it wishes to grow. Its activity, however, could not yet become action. The doubters, scorners, and antagonists find this procedure quite in order. They who have never considered the whole institution anything but an ornament, an arabesque, find this activity quite sufficient. They have never expected anything more. They are very much astonished when they see that there are nations adhering to the League and who are demanding its intervention in their affairs. Lloyd-George recently had to explain to a delegation of pacifists, who had approached him to demand the intervention of the League in various troubles darkening the horizon, that the new institution could not intervene in